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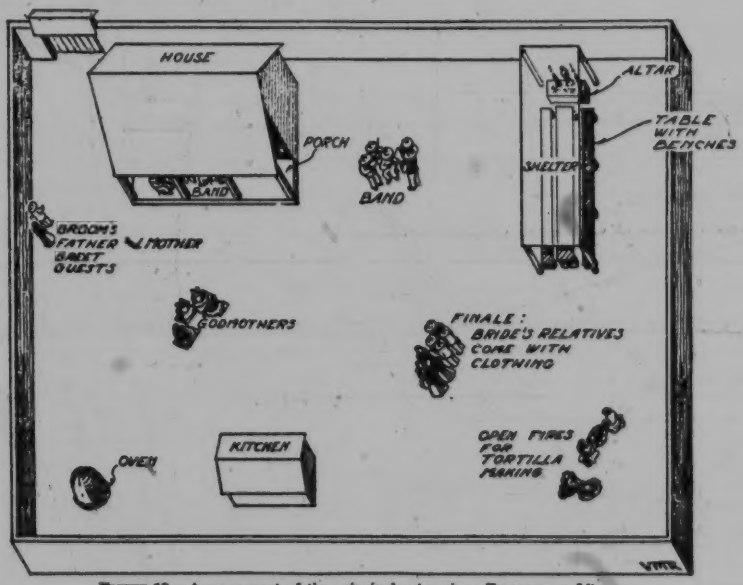

FIGURE 18.—Arrangement of the principal actors in a Tarascan wedding.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1346 NU34 Tarasco NU34

596 591 they have lived thus far. In the few cases where this is done, eventually several brothers and their wives may live in adjoining kitchens and the economic enterprises of the family will be carried on as a unit under the direction of the father. In such cases a joint purse will be kept by the parents or one of the older brothers. All important activities will be subject of discussion and consultation, particularly such matters as buying or selling land, building a new house, etc. In time, the direction of affairs will pass to the younger men, usually the older brother directing and giving final decisions. The extent to which the father will be consulted as he grows old will depend in part on his individual merits.

593 591 More commonly a joint family will not be established even though the son and his wife may remain living in the family residence. If the parents can afford it, they may give the son a lot or even a house and lot where he can live. Lacking parental aid, the son will do everything he can to acquire a new house and lot. Or his wife may own a house and lot which she has inherited and in which the couple will live.

593 423 885 Much the same situation will obtain regarding farm lands. A father may give his son some farm lands when he has shown he is able to manage his affairs properly. Or the son may work for others and save money to begin acquiring his own land. And in a considerable proportion of cases the wife will own lands which the husband will farm. In some cases, even though a joint family is not established, a son will take over management of the farm lands.

Lacking farm lands, the man will work for others as a laborer, become a trader going down to the hot country, work in the forest cutting ties, shakes, or lumber, or work at some trade if he knows one. In any case he may do some of these things on a part-time basis to supplement his income.

592 352 In addition to acquiring a house and lands, the couple needs to assemble the proper tools and furnishings. Although none of these are expensive, in the aggregate they require a bit of time, either to earn money to buy them or to make them. A census of the things found in a house, kitchen, and yard gives some idea of the amount of accumulation required.

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Objects found in a house or "*troje*":

Sleeping mats
Small table
Chairs, either low chairs, regular size chairs, or stools, one for each man in the household and usually two or three for guests.
Serape, worn by the man during the day and serving as a blanket for man and wife at night. A second *serape* will often be found if there are children.
Chest, box, or trunk for extra clothes
Saint's picture
Candle and candle holder
Flower holder
Ladder for getting to loft
Gun (sometimes)
Cross beam suspended from the ceiling on which are hung clothing, blankets, etc.

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Objects found in the kitchen:

Wooden hooks for hanging up "anything"
Stump and flat stone for burning pitch pine for light
Corn husk mats for holding up pots(at least three)
Large comal
3 "frying pans" of Patamban pottery for cooking meat
1 "frying pan" of Patamban pottery for cooking eggs
Several round and oblong wooden bowls
Grass-root pot brush
Atole strainer
4 cane splint baskets of various sizes
2 pottery jars
Broom for sweeping yard (of brush)
Broom for sweeping house (of broom straw)
Paring knife
Bowls of Quiroga ware or Guanajuato ware for serving broth and meat on special occasions
Charcoal-burning flat iron
Gourd canteens for use at harvest time or in woods
½ dozen china plates
½ dozen china cups
Tea pot
China bowls
½ dozen wooden spoons of various sizes
Tin can for dipper to fill water jars
Chocolate beater
Tortilla baskets
2 water ollas
1 small pitcher
5 large 2-handled pots
8 smaller 1-handled pots
Clay fireplace
Firefan
Small metate for chiles
Large metate for maize

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592 Table
352 8 chairs (usually small low style)
415 Machete
½ dozen spoons
2 table forks (rare)
1 table knife (rare)
1 can opener (rare)

Objects found in a lot:

412 Pear picker (if there is fruit on the lot)
592 Hollowed logs for water and feeding pigs
Smooth rock and wooden paddle for washing clothes
Wooden pitchfork
Wooden hook
Carrying crate with tumpline (occasional)
Frame for carrying water *ollas* on donkeyback (occasional)
Clay oven with shovel and broom (occasional)
Hoe

In addition to these items there are the tools of work to be acquired. A farmer needs a plow, yoke, goad, oxen, carrying nets, weeding machete, and perhaps other items. A forest worker needs an ax, a hafted blade for splitting shakes, a wooden mallet, oak wedges, a 2-man crosscut saw about 8 feet long, and an oil can (to oil the saw). A mason will need a trowel, hammer, sledge hammer, and string for guide and plumb lines. A traveling merchant will need burros, pack saddles, and halters.

291 Clothing must also be secured. The man will own *huaraches*, or sandals, two or three pairs of *calzones*, or cotton trousers, often a pair of overalls, a pair of shoes, shirts, knitted cotton undershirts, a blanket or poncho, belt, straw hat, straw or rubber raincoat, a rubber cover for the hat, and a Catholic amulet. In addition, many will own a jacket or coat and pair of trousers of "citified" style to wear when going to Uruapan.

The wife will need a skirt, petticoat, blouse, sashes, jacket, shawl or *rebozo*, bead ornaments, and shoes for special occasions. For working about the house she may have a few cheap cotton dresses of Mestizo style.

As children arrive, clothing must also be provided. Boys usually own *calzones* or cotton trousers with a strap fastening, straw hat, small blanket, shirt, sandals, and perhaps an amulet. Girls will have skirt, petticoat, blouse, jacket, sashes, *rebozo*, and sometimes shoes.

Not everyone will have the above things, but some will have more. The lists given are

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944
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TABLE 5.—*Costs of housing in Cherán*

Category of housing	Description	Cost in pesos
a. Minimal	One poorly built "*terše*" kitchen	25–50
b. Low standard, small family.	One small trója kosina, or one "*terše*" kitchen and one small "*troje.*"	175–200
c. Adequate standard, small family.	One medium trója kosina or "*terše*" kitchen and one medium "*troje.*"	375–400
d. Wealthy	One large trója kosina and two good "*trojes.*"	550–600
	One trója kosina and two-room masonry-adobe house.	750

These figures show a very wide range, yet they still do not represent the true situation. Actually, of course, if a poverty-stricken person can persuade

[continued on p. 28b]

RELATION OF HOUSES TO SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS

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Only in a general way is there correlation between house size and type to social and economic status. Very poor people would be in categories *a* or *b*. But relatively poor and relatively wealthy people will often be in class *c*. Where the family occupies a class *d* category, this will usually be owing to one, or a combination of the following things:

[592] 1. Size of household. Often two brothers, or a father and one or more married sons occupy the residence.

[continued bottom page 28b]

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944
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USES OF THE
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362 kitchen. With few exceptions, the entire family
513 sleeps on mats about the fire. Cold weather and lack of bedding are given as the reasons for this. Even where a masonry-adobe structure with a bed exists, the family normally sleeps in the kitchen.

On ceremonial occasions modifications occur.
362 The house to some extent becomes a center of activities, while cooking will move into the open or under supplementary sheds. These occasions are not many. In the main, family life takes place outdoors when the weather permits; in the kitchen when it does not. The term "house" in practice is a euphemism, and some members of the family may not enter the structure for days at a time.

592 HOUSE SIZE AND HOUSEHOLD SIZE

362 A survey of Cherán houses was made to deter-
125 mine the relationship between size of buildings

592 362 125 and the number of persons in the household. A sampling technique was used, and about 5 percent of the houses in each *barrio*, or *cuartel*, were measured and a census of their inhabitants taken. The only subjective factor in the study was the selection of houses for measurement. An effort was made to select houses in different classifications more or less in the proportions in which they seemed to occur in the *cuartel*. As this study was done only after several months of familiarity with the town, it is believed the subjective error is not large. Comparative data are given from the town of Sevina. In the latter town, two streets were selected, and data taken from every house on each of the two streets from the central plaza to the edge of town.

592 362 [735] [591] It is evident that in an appreciable number of cases more than one family occupies a lot. This situation may be due to several causes. In some instances, it is a reflection of extreme poverty. In others, it results from sons remaining with their parents after marriage. In some instances also sons or sons and daughters may jointly occupy a lot inherited from their parents without subdividing the property.

362 [735] In those cases where no house existed, 15 out of 52, poverty is indicated. It is true, however, that cases may exist where the person may be relatively comfortable financially and has not built a house because he has no agricultural land and hence no great need for storage space. In most cases where more than 1 family occupied a lot, there is a separate kitchen for each family. In the 22 cases in which more than 1 family occu-

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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TABLE 6.—*Data on Cherán houses showing relation between size of house and number of persons in household in comparison with similar data on Sevina houses*

Town and enarid	Data													
	Lots	Houses inhabited	Families per lot		Persons per lot		House size per lot		Average living space		Average storage space per lot	Average kitchen area		Remarks
			Average	Range	Average	Range	Average	Range	Per lot	Per person		Per lot	Per person	
Cherán:	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	Feet	Feet	Sq. ft.	Sq. ft.	Sq. ft.	Sq. ft.	Sq. ft.	
Cuartel 1	180	10	1.7	1-3	6	3-11	12X14	9X9-18X18	205	38	126	207	40	3 out of 10 lots had no house.
Cuartel 2	200	13	1.0	1-3	5	3-10	14X16	12X9-28X40	340	68.5	178	143	28	4 out of 13 had no house.
Cuartel 3	300	17	1.05	1-3	5.47	3-10	15X17	12X13-30X32	420	80.3	300	204	39	3 out of 17 had no house.
Cuartel 4	270	13	1.0	1-3	5.25	3-9	12X11	9X9-30X30	230	45	76	98	19	3 out of 13 had no house.
Sevina		15	1.4	1-3	4.67	2-8	18½X18½	9X7-30X28	482	97	286			

[p. 19C]

592 **Functional aspects.**—Among the Tarascans the agglomeration of buildings in an individual lot include the principal house, the kitchen, burro stable, hogpen, and frequently certain storage structures. The head of a household may build two or more sets of houses and kitchens in his lot for his married sons. The main house (the wooden 342 *troje* in the Sierra or the adobe structure in the surrounding areas) serves principally as a storehouse. The maize harvest is stored in the loft [251] (*tapanco*), which is floored with heavy planks and entered through a trap door by means of a ladder or notched log. In the lower room (floored with planks in the wooded *troje*, often dirt-floored in the adobe house) are stored small grains, clothes, personal valuables; it is also used to house images of various saints, to entertain guests, and as sleeping quarters for them; some members of the family (usually marriageable girls) often sleep in

612 more nuclear or bilaterally expanded families enjoying the usufruct of an ejidal plot,
423 five acres of black soil. Such families are corporate, "nonunilineal" descent groups,
66 with a locus of authority, which trace descent bilaterally from a common older relative who first acquired the plot (Goodenough, 1955). Almost all of the 218 ejidal plots are controlled by such families. They act as a block in politics and are represented by one head who votes at ejidal meetings.[2] The representatives of such ejidal families also dominate in the civil government since they include more than half the politically active nuclear families and, as a group, also possess the overwhelming mass of the community's wealth in private land. Occasionally a majority at an ejidal meeting will oppose the cacical authority.

● 592 The household, the third bilateral structure, includes one or more nuclear or bilat-
66 erally expanded families living in one or more adobe houses around one backyard. The majority of households contain ejidal families. The male members of a household, welded together by shared domestic and agricultural experiences, support each other during the ongoing political schisms and realignments; the members of a household operate as a block, which, unlike the nuclear family, can be divided by situational determinants.

612 The bilateral kindred also has a political function. Certain members of an individual's
66 bilateral kindred, especially ambilateral uncles and nephews, and first cousins, are selected through the interaction of certain variables, such as ward residence. They function, among other things, as a politically supporting nucleus around every individual. The first agrarian cacique, for example, was principally supported by six first and second cousins, and the principal bastions of the present-day cacique are five (six till 1954) second- and third-degree nephews. In critical political situations this kindred stands firm.

621 A final type of bilateral structure divides the community into five large and several
612 minor political "families," each with a core of ten to thirty men sharing a patronymic,
66 plus a much larger associated group related to the core through blood and marriage, or simply affiliated through choice. Though the principles of alignment to these groups are numerous and flexible, all politically active men at any time belong to just one "family," and politics is conceived of by the villagers as struggles between such "families." They are the maximal political blocks within the village. A major event in Durazno political history was the exodus in 1935 of over thirty nuclear families belonging to one huge political "family." Informal political organization in the community is thus largely a special function of various bilateral kinship structures. These structures also partially define the structure of the cacicazgo itself. The cacique and his principal followers are each the focus of overlapping nuclear and ejidal families and bilateral kindreds, and they all belong to one of the large political "families."

608 Two other primary relations possess important political functions: ceremonial kinship
66 and friendship. Ceremonial kinship is the compadre relationship between parents and godparents, formed on the occasion of baptism. The tie is stronger than that obtaining between first cousins and analogous to that of siblings. The compadre bond surrounds every adult male with four to seven trusted and loyal age mates with whom he has grown up and who are usually his social equals in this "horizontal system" (Mintz and Wolf, 1950). A political leader planning an assassination must reckon with the automatic if not immediate retaliation by some of his victim's compadres. Since good "fighters" tend to be related as compadres, a homicidal act against one of them may unleash a swift counterattack. In 1939 two gunmen who unsuccessfully ambushed a leader of the ruling faction were hunted down and shot to death within three hours by the friends and compadres of their victim. Individuals tend to vote and to ally themselves politically